132 vegetation is abundant, and near the sea semi-tropical in its luxuriance.

East of the Suram Mountains the climate is dry, with extremes of heat and cold. The summer is oppressively hot, particularly in the Kura valley. The Caspian basin, as a whole, suffers from drought, and in the Baku district violent sand and dust storms are common.

The climate in the Armenian Highlands shows characteristics similar to those of the two areas above described. At Alexandropol snow lies till the middle of April, spring lasts a fortnight, and the summer parches the country to the condition of a desert. The Aras valley has a somewhat less rigorous climate.

Recent climatic statistics for the three areas are shown in the table given on p. 7.

(4) Sanitary Conditions

[144] 164 Sanitation in anything like the modern sense of the word is practically unknown in Transcaucasia. Medical facilities, except in the larger towns, are practically non-existent. Constant epidemics of malaria are caused by the marshy conditions prevailing on the Black Sea coast, and in the valleys of the Rion, Aras, and Kura. Goitre and epilepsy are common among the natives of Svanetia. Leprosy occurs among the poorer classes of the Persian population. Elisavetopol is notorious for the so-called Sartian sickness, a kind of skin eruption.

(5) Race and Language

563 ● 197 101 Of the numerous peoples represented in Caucasia, some belong to the white race, others to the Mongolian or yellow race.

I. The inhabitants who are of white race belong to the Indo-European, Semitic, or Caucasian families.

Indo-European Family.—Everywhere there are *Russian* officials, merchants, and soldiers, and there are also large numbers of peasants, who are either voluntary colonists or religious exiles from European Russia. They speak both Great and Little Russian.

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

Germans, who came originally from Württemberg, live chiefly in the Tiflis Government and at Helenendorf near Elisavetopol. 543 197 101

There are some 14,000 *Greeks* in Tiflis, near the Turkish frontier, and in Chernomoria. They speak a corrupt form of Greek.

The *Iranians* include *Persians* at Tiflis, who number several thousands; the *Tates*, *Tats*, or *Tads*, descendants of Persian conquerors, who live chiefly in Baku, and speak either Persian or Tatar; the *Talyshes*, who are also of Persian descent, and live in the Lenkoran district; the *Kurds*, who come from the mountains on the Assyrian border, and have spread over a large part of Asia Minor and the Caucasus; and the *Ossetes* (calling themselves *Iron*), who occupy the central mountainous region from Mount Elbruz to Mount Kazbek in the east, and from Vladikavkaz in Ciscaucasia to the district round Dushet and Gori in the Tiflis Government.

The *Armenians* form the merchant and trading class in most of the towns. Armenian peasants are chiefly confined to the Governments of Erivan and Elisavetopol; they are more virile than the townbred Armenians, and cannot be easily distinguished from the Tatars.

Semitic Family.—There are over 45,000 *Jews* in the Tiflis and Kutais Governments and in Daghestan. The Jews of Tiflis and Kutais speak Georgian, those of Daghestan local dialects.

Caucasian Family.—This family is divided into three groups: the Kartalian or southern, the western Highland, and the eastern Highland. The language of the Kartalian group, except when otherwise stated, is Georgian; there are many dialects. The language is distinct from those of the Indo-European family, but has few affinities with other main Caucasian groups. To the *Kartalian group* belong the *Georgians* or *Gruzians*, who form the majority of the population of the Government of Tiflis, inhabiting the upper reaches of the Kura from Akhaltsikh to below Tiflis

3: Anonymous U-4 (no date) 1920 RH1 Caucasia RH1

and the Yora and Alazan plains as far as Zakatali. The *Imeretians* live in the Kutais Government, west of the Suram Mountains as far as the River Tskhenis Tskhali. The *Gurians* are found between the Rion and the Chorokh. The *Adzharians* and *Kabuletians* live in the Adzharis Tskhali valley in the Batum Province. The *Khevsurs*, *Tushes*, and *Pshavs* are wild mountain tribes belonging to the central Caucasus. The *Mingrelians* inhabit the country between the Rion, Ingur, Tskhenis Tskhali, and the Black Sea. There are a few *Lazis* in the south-west corner of Transcaucasia; most of this tribe live in Turkish territory in Lazistan. The *Svanetians* live in the valleys of the upper Ingur and Tskhenis Tskhali on the southern slopes of the main Caucasian chain.

To the *western Highland group* belong the tribes who call themselves *Adighé*, but whom the Russians call *Cherkess* (Circassians). They used to inhabit the Caucasus range from Taman to Pitsunda and the left bank of the Kuban in Ciscaucasia. They speak a harsh dialect of their own. The *Abkhasians*, who speak a similar dialect, occupy the Black Sea coast from Pitsunda to the Ingur.

Of the peoples in the *eastern Highland group*, the *Chechentsy* or *Chechens* live mostly in the Terek Province, but there are still a few on the Daghestan frontier. The *Lesghians*, including the *Avar*, *Darginian*, and *Kurinian* tribes, are the chief occupants of the Daghestan Highlands. They speak a guttural dialect of their own, though in the east the Azarbaijan Tatar patois is in common use.

II. Of the peoples of Mongolian race the chief are the *Tatars*, who mostly come from the Persian province of Azarbaijan and occupy both banks of the middle and lower Kura, intermingled with Armenian and Kurd colonies. Their language is akin to Turkish, and is the *lingua franca* of western and southern Transcaucasia. There are a few *Nogaitsy* Tatars in Daghestan. The Tatars in Kars Province are known as the *Karapapakhs*. The *Kumyks*, who live on the Daghestan

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whole. The sense of the term Kartveli has expanded; it referred originally only to the inhabitants of the central and politically leading province of Kartli with the capitals Tiflis and in older times Mtskheta. The European designations: Italian Georgiano, French Géorgien, English Georgia and Georgian, German Georgien and Georgier, derive from the Persian name Gurdj (pl. Gurdjan, adj. Gurdji) heard by the crusaders and spelt by them so as to connect it with the name of Saint George. The Persian Gurdj adopted also by the Turks goes back to Sasanide Persian Waručan - Parthian Wirčan; the latter shows the stem wir - which appears in the Armenian designation of the Georgians Virk, sing. Vratsi; the connection with this stem of the Greek name of the forefathers of the Georgians, the Iberes, is very doubtful. From another Persian name-form Gurz, pl. Gurzan, found already in Syriac sources of the beginning of the 8th century, are derived the Russian terms Gruziya (country) and Gruziny (inhabitants).

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The Georgian dialects, which in the main do not show great differences, are divided by the range of the Surami mountains into two groups. To the Eastern group belong the dialects of Kartli, of K'akheti, the country between the river Iora and the mountains of Dagestan, of the Ingilo, islamized Georgians on the river Alazani, and of the mountain

C. G. 197 tribes: Tush on the upper course of the Andian Koisu, Khevsur on the upper course of the rivers (Eastern) Aragvi and Argun, Pshavs south of them on the Aragvi and the upper Iora, Mokhev and Mtiul on the upper Terek, Western Aragvi and Ksani. The Western group consists of the dialects of Upper and Lower Imereti with the center Kutaisi, of the mountainous regions of Rach'a on the Upper Rioni and Lechkhum in the west of Rach'a, and of Guria south of the Rioni, reaching the Black Sea between Poti and Kobuleti. The Ach'arians south of the Gurians and west of Batum do not differ from them in speech, but in culture, being Mohammedans, and therefore have received the status of an Autonomous Republic.

C. G. 101 b. The Mingrelians, numbering about 300,000 occupy the territory north of the lower Rioni and west of the Tskhenis-tskali extending on the coast of the Black Sea from the mouth of the Rioni up to the town of Ochemchire. They call their country Odishi and themselves Margali; this name is, somewhat distorted, already mentioned by Ptolemy. It corresponds to Georgian Megreli, a derivation from Egrisi, as Mingrelia is called in the Old Georgian documents and by the Armenian geographers. It is probable that Mingrelian in former times occupied a much larger territory, i.e., all Western Georgia, as it is now separated by Gurian from the closely related Laz, and the Western dialects of Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Georgia RI1
Mingrel, Laz, Swan

000 Georgian show a Mingrelian substrate.
C Mingrelian has never been a literary language;
G in the schools, Georgian is the language
.197 of teaching so that in the last decades Mingrelian has notably changed in favour of a closer resemblance to Georgian. Many of the modern Georgian authors are of Mingrelian origin.

C c. The Laz live on the seacoast and
G in the valleys of the small rivers falling into
101 the Black Sea between the towns of Khope and Atina. Only a very small part (730 persons according to the census of 1926) live in Soviet
C territory; the large majority live in Turkish
G territory (ca. 47,000 acc. to the Turkish
[191] census of 1945). All Laz speak Turkish in public and use their mother tongue only as a
[192] home language. Laz is full of Turkish loanwords; even the name Lazi which the Laz use for themselves is borrowed from Turkish. The Georgians call them Ch'ani which corresponds to Tzanoi used by Procopius. Lazike was in Roman and Byzantine times the designation not only of modern Lazistan, but also of all
C Western Georgia, having superseded the old
G
[197] Greek name of Colchis. The Laz language is in phonology almost identical with Mingrelian, but in grammar shows considerable peculiarities. It has never been written except for scientific recording.

d. The Svan (Svanetians) inhabit two valleys in the high mountain chains south of

controlled the neighboring peoples (Chechen, Ossetes, some of the W. Circassians) and assumed cultural leadership in the whole N. Caucasus. The Western (or Lower) Circassians were divided into a number of tribes and preserved to a larger extent the older, patriarchal social structure. The Circassians living in the Cherkes AO speak the Kabardian dialect, but are culturally closer to the W. Circassians; they are the descendants of the so-called "fugitive Kabardians" who emigrated from Kabarda when this was subjugated by the Russians at the beginning of the 19th century.

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C. NORTH-EAST CAUCASIAN PEOPLES.

The North-East Caucasian peoples, which show a much greater linguistic diversity than either the N. W. or the S. group, constitute six major linguistic branches: (a) Veinakh; (b) Avaro-Ando-Dido; (c) Lak-Dargwa; (d) Samurian; (e) Khinalug; and (f) Udi. The representatives of groups (b) - (d), who constitute the Paleocaucasian population of the Dagestan ASSR were usually referred to as "Lezgians," though this name applies only to a member of group (d).

a. The Veinakh peoples comprise the Bats, a small pastoral tribe of ca. 2,500

people living in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazani, among the Georgian mountain tribe of the Tush (therefore they were formerly erroneously called Tsova-Tush), and a number of tribes whose dialects show common innovations as compared to Bats. Some are nearly extinct, e.g. that of the Karabulak who by 1870 had almost all emigrated to Turkey. The remaining dialects fall into two groups, the Chechen and the Ingush, numbering respectively ca. 408,000 and 92,000 who until 1944 lived between the middle course of the Terek and the Great Caucasus in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR. All Chechen call themselves Nakhchuo (pl. Nokhchiy); the name Chechen came up in the 17th century among the Russians, who applied the name of one aul (Chachan) to the whole people. The older history of the Veinakh peoples is quite unknown; they lived in self-governing communities and had not developed any class distinctions when the Russians came into contact with them. In 1944, the Chechen-Ingush ASSR was abolished and its population deported to Kazakhstan, where it has since received some official recognition (1955) by the issuing of a Chechen language newspaper.

b. The peoples speaking Avaro-Ando-Didoic languages occupy the western part of

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Dagestan. The Avar, who live in the basins of the Avar Koisu and the lower Andi-Koisu and also extend to the S. slope of the Great Caucasus, are the most numerous people of this group (1949 ca. 167,000), the peoples forming the Andi and Dido subgroups numbering ca. 35,000. The name Avar is not indigenous, the Avar have no general self-designation, but identify themselves by separate villages; their language they call mahàrul mats', i.e. "mountain language" or khunz mats', i.e. "language of Khunzakh." The name "Avar" seems to have originated with the Kumuk. The Avar never formed a nation in a political sense; they were divided in a number of independent units, the most important of which was the Avar Khanate between the Avar and Andi Koisu with its center Khunzakh. In the 17th century a number of Avar crossed the main chain into the present Zakataly district and subjugated the local Georgian and Azeri population; these Avar are known by the name Dzhartsy or Dzharskie Lezginy.

The Andi and Dido tribes, whose numerous languages are related to though not mutually intelligible with Avar, and who use the latter language as a lingua franca, live around the middle and upper Andi Koisu. The names of both groups are generalizations

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from that of a single representative of each, and even so are not self-designations. The Andi proper call themselves Qwannaw (pl. Quannal) after their principal aul Qwanni. The name "Andi" is the Avar designation of their country (Handi), and this name was already known to Pliny (Andacae). The Dido proper call themselves Tsezi (pl. Tsezebi). The name "Dido" is Georgian (didoeti for the country, didouri for inhabitants), as Didouroi, Diduri known to Ptolemy and Pliny.

c. The Lak-Dargwa languages are spoken in the mountains SE of the Avar area (the lowlands in the NE being occupied by the Kumuk). The more than 55,000 Lak inhabit the barren mountains at the upper reaches of the Tleuserakh, Khatar and Kazikumukh-skoe Koisu. They are also known by the name Kazikumukh (after their main aul Kumukh, the inhabitants of which, according to the tradition, in the 8th century willingly accepted and spread by fire and sword Islam, for which the Arabs gave them the name of honor kazi or gazi "fighter for the creed").

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Lak or Lakuchu is the self-designation of the people; the name may be connected with the root Lezg-. Strabo knew in their general area the Gelai and the Legai, which he places between the Albani and the Amazonae. Plutarch mentions the Leges in

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8
Dargin (Hurkan)

CD 101 (and which also included a number of Kumuk, Lak and Avar). The "dargwa" of Akusha was the most numerous and powerful; the Utsumi-dargwa was also known as Kaitak or Khaidak (a name of Mongolian origin), its lower part as Kara-Kaitak. In Upper-Kaitak is situated the aul Kubachi, famed far beyond Dagestan for its artistic metal-work. Its inhabitants have been known to the Arabs since the ninth cent. as zirh-gerān "masters of armor" (Pers.); the Turkish name Kubachi (same meaning) has been in use since the 16th cent. The people of Kubachi, who call themselves Ughbug, were always independent of the rulers of Kaitak.

CD 197 Of the numerous Dargwa dialects, Uslar described that of the aul Khiurkila, and so the language became known by the name khiurkilinskii iazyk (Schiefier's Hürkanisch); the present day literary language is based on the dialect of Akusha.

CD 101 197 d. The southern part of Dagestan, i.e. the basins of the rivers Samur, Kurakh-chai and Chirakh-chai, is occupied by peoples speaking cognate languages which form the Samur group of the N.E. Caucasian language family. The largest people (ca. 165,000) are the Lezgians on the lower and middle course of the Samur and extending in the southeast beyond the Samur into Azerbaidjan,

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where they live intermingled with Azeri. They originally had no general self-designation but borrowed the name Lezgi from the bordering Azeri. The central part of their territory, between the country of the Tabasaran and the Samur, was known under the name K'üre (Russ. Kiura, Kjure); it was for a long time a bone of contention between the Khans of Derbent, Kuba and Kazikumukh. In 1812, the Russians made it into a separate Khanate under the above-mentioned Aslan-Khan, who in 1820 also was appointed Khan of Kazikumukh. Uslar described one of the Kiure dialects; through his work, the Lezgian language became known as kiurinskii iazyk.

Farther upstream on the Samur, in the area of its confluence with the Kara-Samur, live the ca 10,000 Rutul, named after their principal village Rutul which they themselves call Mykhäd. On the uppermost Samur and its tributaries are situated the auls of the ca. 11,000 Tsakhur, who inhabit the region N. of Elisu in Azerbaidjan also. The area of the upper Kurakh-chai and Giulgeri-chai is occupied by the ca. 7,500 Agul. To the W. of Derbend, in the basin of the Upper Rubas-chai and Chirakh-chai live the ca. 30,000 Tabasaran. Finally there belong to the Samur group two languages spoken in the Mt. Shakhdag area, surrounded by Azeri speaking people:

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RHl
Dagestan RH8
Bedukha, Khaput,
Khinalug, Udan

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Budukh (ca. 2000) and Dzhek (or Kryz, Khaputl; ca. 4, 500).

e., f. Two small peoples outside Dagestan speak NE Caucasian languages which show no special affinities either to each other or with any other group. These are the ca. 1500 inhabitants of the aul Khinalug (W. of the habitat of the Dzhek), and the ca. 3000 Udi (in 1897 ca. 7000) who live in the villages Vartashen, Nizh and Oktomberi. The Udi are the only Christian people among the NE Caucasians; they were already known to Pliny (Udini) and Ptolemy (Oudai). In old Armenian sources they are regarded as part of Albania, and it is possible that in their language the old literary language of the Albani (no records of which remain) survives.

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II INDO-EUROPEAN PEOPLES

144 .197 The Indo-European peoples whose traditional territory is in the Caucasus belong to two branches of this family. The Armenians, the oldest non-indigenous people in the Caucasus, linguistically constitute an independent subdivision of Indo-European. The other Indo-European peoples in the Caucasus all belong to the Iranian branch of the Indo-Iranian subdivision: the Ossetes, Talysh, Tat and Kurds.

162 (a.) Of the ca. 2 million Armenians in the USSR not more than 60 per cent live in the Armenian political units in southern Trans-Caucasia, that is, in the area of the upper Kura river, Lake Sevan, the middle Araks river (Armenian SSR) and on the eastern slopes of the Karabakh Mts. (High Karabakh AO). Of the remainder, the large majority live scattered in the Caucasus, in areas adjoining their political territory, in the western spurs of the Great Caucasus, in Azerbaidjan south of Shemakha, and in the cities. At various times considerable numbers of Armenians living outside of the Caucasus have immigrated to "Russian" Armenia (most recently after the Second World War). The Armenians were living in the Caucasus as early as the sixth century B.C., but the exact date of their arrival there is unknown; it may have preceded the first records by one or two centuries. The Armenians call themselves

I PALEOCAUCASIAN LANGUAGES

A. Internal and External Relationships

197 The Paleocaucasian languages are divided into three groups of related languages. The Southern group comprises Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz and Svan; the North-Western group: Circassian and Abkhaz; the North-Eastern group: the Veinakh languages of the Central Caucasus and the numerous languages of Dagestan.

The relationships among these three groups are not quite clear. There are certain phonetic traits and lexical elements which are common to two or to all three groups, but the problem of the extent to which these similarities are due to mutual influence and borrowing rather than to common ancestry has not been definitely solved. The N. E. Caucasian languages alone differ from each other at least as much as, for example, the older Indo-European languages. The N. W. and N. E. Caucasian languages seem to have an old lexical stratum in common, and if further investigation establishes a genetic relationship among all the Paleocaucasian languages it is probable that the Northern languages will prove to form a unit as opposed to S. Caucasian.

The possible relationships of the Paleocaucasian languages with languages or

197 language groups outside the Caucasus are quite uncertain. The Russian linguist Marr, among others, developed the theory that the Caucasian languages and Basque, spoken in and around the western Pyrenees, are the remnants of a language family spread throughout southern Europe before the Indo-European invasions; Marr gave this language family the name "Japhetic." According to him, this family also included Etruscan and a number of ancient languages of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (Elamitic, Sumerian); the Japhetic languages were in his opinion related to the Semito-Hamitic language family. No sufficient evidence has been brought forward to support this theory. More detailed studies have been made particularly on the possible Basque-Caucasian relationship (by Lafon and Bouda, among others); the results still leave room for doubt. This is even more true of Bleichsteiner's attempt to show a relationship between Caucasian and Burushaski (spoken in the Hindukush).

The Paleocaucasian languages, grouped into related units, are summed up below. Those marked with an asterisk have the status of a literary language in the Soviet Union. The languages placed in parentheses are not spoken in the Caucasus at present, due to the emigration (Ubykh, 1865) or deportation (Chechen-Ingush, 1944) of the speakers.

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South Caucasian (2,250,000; plus 87,000 in Turkey)

* Georgian
Mingrelo-Laz
Svan

North-West Caucasian (325,000)

* Abkhaz (incl. *Abaza)
(Ubykh)
Circassian
* Kyakh (W. Circ.)
* Kabardian (E. Circ.)

North-East Caucasian (1,120,000)

Veinakh Group
(*Chechen-Ingush)
Bats
Avaro-Ando-Dido Group
*Avar
Andi Subgroup (Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh)
Dido Subgroup (Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh)
Archi
Lak-Dargwa Group
*Lak
Dargwa Subgroup (*Dargwa, Kaitak, Kubachi)

197 North-East Caucasian (continued)

Samur Group
*Lezgian
Agul
Rutul
Tsakhur
*Tabasaran
Budukh
Dzhek

Khinalug

Udi

B. Structure of the Languages

194 A phonetic characteristic common to all the Caucasian languages is their richness in consonants. Georgian has 28 consonant phonemes, Avar has 44, the literary dialect of Abkhaz has 67 (cf. English with 23). The vowel systems, on the other hand, are simple and vowels rarely exceed 5. In addition to voiceless and voiced consonants, all the languages also have a series of glottalic consonants, pronounced with a "glottal catch." Speakers of Georgian identify the Russian voiceless consonants with their own glottalic ones (rather than with their own voiceless consonants, which, unlike the Russian, are aspirated), and this "glottalic" pronunciation

II NON-INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES

•197 Armenian is a separate branch of Indo-European, belonging to the Eastern (satem) group ; its closest relatives were probably Phrygian and Thracian, known only from a few inscriptions. The language has been strongly influenced by its non-Indo-European substratum (Chaldic, the language of the Urartu state). Besides Ossetian, also spoken in the Caucasus, Armenian is the only I-E language with a series of glottalic consonants; its lexicon abounds with non-I-E elements, and its morphology and syntax show [192] Caucasian influence. The language has furthermore borrowed so many words from Persian that it was regarded as an Iranian dialect until Hübschmann showed in 1883 that it represented an independent branch of I-E. The [212] oldest dated Armenian manuscript is from the ninth century; the literary tradition is four centuries older.

Ossetian is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian languages, to which also belong the Pamir dialects and Yagnābī, a descendant of Soghdian. It is the only survival of the Scytho-Sarmatian dialects, once spread over a vast area in the Eurasian steppe belt. The influence of the surrounding Caucasian languages is apparent in the existence of glottalic consonants, in the agglutinative technique of the morphology and in the lexicon.

• 197 Tat and Talysh both belong to the Caspian dialect group of the North-Western subdivision of Iranian; their closest relations are Nazandarani and Ghilak, spoken in Iran in the Caspian coast region. The North-Western Iranian languages, themselves widely divergent, are not mutually intelligible with Persian, which belongs to the South-Western subdivision of Iranian.

The Kurdish dialects form a special group of the North-Western subdivision of the Iranian languages. The Kurds in Soviet territory speak a North Kurdish (Kurmanji) dialect.

Azeri belongs to the Western subdivision of Oghuz Turkic, together with Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages. The difference between Azeri and Turkish on the one hand, and between Azeri and the Kashkay-Hamse languages on the other, is very small, and these three units can be considered dialects of the same language.

Turcoman constitutes the Eastern subdivision of Oghuz Turkic. The spoken language is not intelligible to speakers of Western Oghuz Turkic.

Kumuk, Noghay, and Karachay-Balkar belong to the Kipchak-Turkic language group. The three can be regarded as distant dialects of the same language.

Kalmyk constitutes the Western member of the Mongolian family of the Altaic languages.

7: Columbia U.S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI

O:3 Genetic-Linguistic Survey:

197 Caucasian (Paleaocaucasian, Ibero-Caucasian) languages: I. S Caucasian (Kartvelian, Iberian) branch: Georgian, Mingrelo-Laz, Svan; II. NW Caucasian (W C ucasian, Abasgo-Kerketian, Pontic) branch: Abkhaz, Ubykh, Circassian; III. NE Caucasian (E Caucasian, Checheno-Lezgian, Checheno-Dagestanian, Caspian) branch: (1) Veinakh (N Central Caucasian) Group: Chechen-Ingush, Bats; (2) Avaro-Ando-Dido group: (a) Avar; (b) Andi sub-group: Andi proper, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, Akhvakh; (c) Dido sub-group: Khvarshi, Dido proper Kapucha, Khunzal, Ginukh; (d) Archi: (3) Lak-Dargwa group: Lak and the Dargwa languages: Dargwa proper, Kaitak, Kubachi; (4) Samurian group: Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, Dzhek; (5) Khinalug; (6) Udi.

Indo-European (Indogermanic, Aryan) languages: I. Armenian; II. Iranian branch: (1) E Iranian: Ossetian; (2) NW Iranian: Talysh, Tat; (3) SW Iranian: Kurdish.

Altaic languages: I. Turkic Tatar, Muslim) branch: (1) Oghuz group: (a) W Oghuz: Azeri, Karapapak; (b) E Oghuz: Turkoman; (2) Kipchak group: Kumuk, Noghay, Karachay, Balkar; II. Mongolian branch, W group: Kalmyk.

Semitic languages, Aramaic branch: Aisor.

C. G. 197 LANGUAGE: Georgian (Kartuli ena) belongs with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan, to the S Caucasian (or Kartvelian) language family. It has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Georgian dialects fall into two groups: E and W Georgian. E dialects: Kartluri (with sub-dialects Meskh and Dzhavakh), K'akhuri, Ingilouri, Tushuri, Khevsuruli, Pshauri, Mokhev, Mtiuli, (Fereidan in Iran). W dialects: Imeruli Rach'uli, Lechkhum, Guruli (including Adzhar), Imerkhev (in Turkey).

C. G. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, cattle-breeding; horticulture; viniculture; arts and crafts.

C. G. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox; Roman Catholic minority; only the Adzhar and part of the Ingilo are Muslim. There are a number of Georgian-speaking Jewish villages in different parts of the Georgian SSR, totaling 21, 471 persons (1926, Russian census), in Russian referred to as Gruzinskie evrei (Georgian Jews).

C. G. [162]

2. MINGRELIANS

C. G. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: Margali; own name of country: Odishi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Megrely, Megrel'tsy, Mingrel'tsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Megreli, the country: Samegrelo; (Abkhaz:) Aghrwa; (Svan:) Myzan, the country: Zan

C. G. 161 **NUMBER:** 1897 239,625 (Russian census)
1926 242,990 (Russian census, ethn.)
284,834 (Russian census, ling.)

C. G. 162 **LOCATION:** Territory N of lower Rioni river and W of the Tskhenis-Tskali, extending along the Black Sea Coast from the mouth of the Rioni up to Ochemchiri (rayons Zugdidi and Senaki in W of Georgian SSR). Also in and around the cities of the Abkhaz ASSR.

C. G. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Mingrelian (Megreli nina) and the very closely related Laz form the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language group, which also includes Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two groups of dialects, which differ very little: West (Samurzakan-Zugdidi) and East Mingrelian (Senaki).

C. G. 241 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Agriculture; horticulture; viniculture; sericulture.

C. G. 795 **RELIGION:** Eastern Orthodox.

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1 Georgia RI1
(Turkish:) Lazi;
(Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

3. LAZ

C G 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lazi
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lazy; for the language also: Chanskii iazyk.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish:) Lazi; (Georgian:) Ch'ani, the country: Ch'aneti.)

C G 161 NUMBER: 1926 643 (Russian census, ethn.)
730 (Russian census, ling.)
The Turkish census of 1945 lists 46,987 speakers of Laz, so that the overwhelming majority of them live in Turkish territory.

C G 162 LOCATION: Between the Chorokh river and the Black Sea coast up to the area of Pazar (Atina) on Turkish territory; also in the Chkhala basin (left tributary of the Chorokh on Russian territory), (Adzhar ASSR, within Georgian SSR).

C G 197 LANGUAGE: Laz (Ch'anuri nena) and the very closely related Mingrelian form of the so-called Zan member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-group, which includes also Georgian and Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language in the USSR, Turkish in Turkey.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialect-groups; West (Vitse-Arkhava and Atina) and East Laz (Hopa, Chkhala).

E G 241 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, fishing, trade.

E G 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

4. SVAN

C.G. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Shwan, sing. Mushwän, Mushwni.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Svan, Svanetians
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Svany, Svanety.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Svani; the country: Svaneti

C.G. 161 NUMBER: 1897 15,756 (Russian census)
1926 13,218 (Russian census, ethn.)
13,142 (Russian census, ling.)
The 1926 numbers are very low and must be due to some misunderstanding. The Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (1st ed.) Vol. 50 (1944), p. 371, gives the number of the Svan as over 23,000.

C.G. 162 LOCATION: Two valleys S of Mt. El'brus, one of the upper Tskhenis-Tskali and its tributary the Kheledula (Sv. of the Dadiani), the other of the upper Ingur (West: Sv. of the Dadishkeliani, East: Free Sv.) Georgian SSR)

C.G. ●197 LANGUAGE: The Svan language is a member of the S Caucasian (Kartvelian) language-family, to which belong further Migrelo-Laz (Zan), and Georgian, the latter languages forming one group as against Svan. The language is not written, Georgian being used as the literary language.

C.G. 163 SUBDIVISIONS: Historically, Svanetia fell into three parts, Svanetia of the Dadiani, Svanetia of the Dadishkeliani, Free Svanetia.

C. G. 197

LANGUAGE: Abkhaz belongs to NW Caucasian, together with Circassian and Ubykh (the latter no longer spoken in the Caucasus). Two dialects have been reduced to writing: in the Abkhaz ASSR that of the Abzhui, in the Cherkes AO that of the Tapanta. The speakers of the Abaza dialects are all bilingual and speak also the Kabardian dialect of Circassian. In the Abkhaz ASSR knowledge of Georgian is widespread.

SUBDIVISION: Abkhaz has five major dialects: Bzyb', Abzhui, Samurzakan', Ashkharwa and Tapanta. The speakers of the latter two dialects are known as Abaza (R. Abazintsy), though linguistically the first four dialects form one group, while Tapanta stands apart.

C. G. 101

Further tribal names (Russ. form): Tsebeldintsy, Dzhigety; (Abaza:)Beshilbei, Tam, Barakei.

C. G. 241 231

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture, viniculture; apiculture.

C. G. 795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); Eastern Orthodox.

Adige, Kabardin, Cherkess

162 Adygei AO (Beslenei:) Two auls of the Cherkes AO: Beslenei and Bakozhile; two auls in the Uspenskii rayon (Krasnodar Krai): Kurgovskoe and Konovskoe; two auls in the Adygei AO: Khodzh' and Uliap.

2. Lower Circassians: S of the lower middle course of the Kuban' and in the basins of the Laba and Belaia; these in the Adygei AO (mixture of various tribes). Also SE of Tuapse and in the aul Suvorovo-Cherkesskii on the Taman' peninsula (Shapsug). Smaller groups scattered in the NW Cauc., among others near Armavir.

197 LANGUAGE: The Circassian language (Adyghèbze) belongs with Abkhaz and Ubykh (no longer spoken in the Caucasus) to the NW group of Caucasian languages. The two major dialects, Upper and Lower Circassian, both have the status of literary language, under the names "Kabardinskii" or "Kabardinocherkesskii", and "Adygeiskii iazyk" respectively (the last based on the Temirgoi dialect). A Lower Circassian dialect is spoken by the Armenians in the town of Armavir.

147 101 SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialect-groups: Upper Circassian (Kabardian and Beslenei) and Lower Circassian (or Kiakh, with subdialects Bzhedukh-Temirgoi [the latter also called Chemgui], Shapsug, and Abadzekh). In Russian sources the Circassians in the Adygei AO are referred to as "Adygeitsy", those in the Cherkes AO as "Cherkesy", those in the Kabardian ASSR

197 101 as "Kabardintsy". The dialects follow old tribal divisions. Other tribal names (Russ. form.): Natukhaevtsy, Gatiukai, Zhane(e)vtsy, Egerukaevtsy, Makhosh(ev)-tsy, Kiakhi, Khagak (Khegek, Shegek).

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; cattle-breeding; horse-breeding (esp. Kabardians); apiculture; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni); only the Kabardians around Mozdok are Christians.

197 they form the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian language family.

SUBDIVISIONS: These were more of a geographical than of a linguistic nature. Chechen tribes: Ichkeri(ntsy), Aukh(ovtsy). etc.; Ingush tribes: Dzherakh(ovtsy), Nazran(ovtsy), etc. A special dialect was spoken by the Karabulak, who had all emigrated to Turkey by 1870. The Georgians knew the Chechen with whom they came in contact as Kist; this name was later extended to the whole group and adopted by the Russians as a name for the Veinakh languages(Kistinskie iazyki).

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding, agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Tushin

8. BATS

101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: Batsaw, pl. Batsbi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Batsbiitsy, Tsova-Tush, Tush (due to incorrect naming by Güldenstädt)

161 **NUMBER:** 1926 7 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,459 (Russian census, ling.)

162 **LOCATION:** In winter and spring in the village Zemo Alvani on the Kakhetian Alazan' (near Telavi), in summer in the mountain meadows on the upper Kakhetian Alazan' and Tush Alazan' (Akhmet rayon, Georgian SSR).

197 **LANGUAGE:** Bats (Batsbe mot') forms, with Checheno-Ingush, the Veinakh group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Georgian being used as literary language.

231 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Cattle-breeding.

715 **RELIGION:** Eastern Orthodox.

9. AVAR

C.A. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: None for the people as a whole. Own designation of language: maharul mats'ə ("mountain language") or Kh•unz mats'ə ("language of Khunzakh")

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Avartsy, Tavlintsy (the latter from Kumyk "Taulu" meaning "mountaineers" in general). The southern groups of Avar are also referred to as Dzhartsy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Yaruchū, (Dargwa:) K'araq•an.

C.D. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 158,769 (Russian census, ethn.)
158,922 (Russian census, ling.)
In the Bol'shaia Sovetskaia Éntsiklopediia (2nd ed.) Vol. 1 (1949), p. 62, the total number of Avar is given as ca. 167,000. The number of persons able to speak Avar is ca. 220,000 (estimate, Chikobava).

C.A. 162 **LOCATION:** Basins of lower Andi Koisu, and of the Avar Koisu; some groups isolated from the main body along the W tributaries of the Andi Koisu (rayons Gergebil', Gumbet, Gunib, Kazbek, Kakhib, Tliarata, Untsukul', Khunzakh, Charoda, all in the Dagestan ASSR). Also extending to the S slope of the main Caucasian chain (rayons Belokany and Zakataly, Azerb. SSR).

C.D. 197 **LANGUAGE:** The Avar language (mahárul mats'ə Kh•unz mats'ə) forms with the Andi and Dido groups of languages one of the six main divisions of NE Caucasian (the

CD
•197 others being Veinakh, Lak-Dargwa, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi). Avar has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR. The literary language is based on the Khunzakh dialect which was also the basis of the old "bol mats'•" ("army language"), the common Avar lingua franca. Knowledge of Avar is spread well outside its own linguistic territory (Andi-Dido area, Tsakhur area, Archi, W part of Lak and Dargwa areas).

SUBDIVISIONS: There are four major dialects: Khunzakh, Gidatl′ -- Andalaly-Karakh, Antsukh, and Char.

CD
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Stockbreeding; home
438 industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, leather
241 goods, wooden objects, metal work, tapestry-weaving, embroidery); horticulture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHl Caucasia RH
Dagestan RH 8
Andi

10. ANDI

C. D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Qwannaw, pl. Qwannal

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Andii, Andiitsy (this name is also used to include, besides the Andi proper, the other peoples of the Andi group; cf. below under "Language").

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Handísew, pl. Handál, the country: Handí.

C. D. 161

NUMBER: 1926 7,840 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,720 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162

LOCATION: N of the Andiiskoe Koisu, at its bend eastward (auls Andi, Ghunkha, Ghaghatl, Rik'uan, Chankho, Zilo, Muni in rayon Botlikh and auls Kvankhidatl, and Khuset in rayon Vedeno, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197

LANGUAGE: Andi (Qwannab mits·i) forms with Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the so-called Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Sheep-raising, home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, tapestries, goldsmithing).

C. D. 795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

11. BOTLIKH

C.D. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: Buykhatli (gen. of Buykhe "the village B."). RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Botlikhtsy, Buiukhad.

C.D. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 3,354 (Russian census, ethn.) 2,789 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 **LOCATION:** Just N of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Andi area (rayon Botlikh, auls Botlikh and Miarso, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Botlikh (Buykhatli mits') forms with Andi, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Cattle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C.D. 715 **RELIGION:** Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1• Dagestan RH8

12. GODOBERI

CD
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ghibditl·i adami (i.e. "people of the village Ghidu (Godoberi").
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Godoberi-(ntsy).

CD
161 NUMBER: 1926 1,425 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,425 (Russian census, ling.)

CD
162 LOCATION: Just NW of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, W of the Botlikh area (rayon Botlikh, aul Godoberi, Dagestan ASSR).

CD
.197 LANGUAGE: Godoberi (Ghibditl·i mits·i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding;
241 home industry; agriculture.

CD
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

13. KARATA

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kirtl•e, pl. Kirtl•ei.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Karatintsy, Karatai, Kirdi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) K'alalal.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 5,305 (Russian census, ethn.)
5,303 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Just S of the bend of the Andiis[illegible] Koisu (N part of rayon Akhvakh, also rayons Andalaly and Vedeno (Dagest. ASSR). (1)

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Karata (Kirtl•i mats'i) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Bagulal, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Karata proper Anchikh and Tokita.

C. D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: [illegible]attle-breeding, home industry, agriculture.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

(1) a.ls Karata, Archo, Anchikh, Tokita, Mashtada, Rachabalda, Chabakoro.

14. BAGULAL

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kwantl hekua, or Bagolal.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Bagulaly; Bagvalal, Bogulal.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: due to their dual self-designation, referred to both as Bagulal and Kvanada.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,054 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,053 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: S of the bend of the Andiiskoe Koisu, S of the Karata area (rayon Tsumada, auls Khushtada, Tlondoda, Kvanada; rayon Akhvakh, auls Gimerso, Tisi, Tlibisho, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Bagulal (Bagulazul mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Tindi, Chamalal, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Bagulal proper and Tlisi.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 79 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1a Dagestan RH8

15. TINDI

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Idaraw hekwa
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Tindii, Tindiitsy, Tindal′, Inderi (ntsy), Idi.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Dido:) Bogozi, pl. Bogozibi.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,812 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,704 (Russian census, ling.)
1952 5,000 (estimate Gudava)

CD 162 LOCATION: Aul Tindi, on the E tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu which separates the Bagulal group from the Khvarshi area; (rayon Tsumada, Dagestan ASSR). (1)

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Tindi (Idara mits') forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Chamalal and Akhvakh the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian-languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni)

(1) Also auls Tisi, Echeda and Akhnada (rayon Tsumada) and Qedi (rayon Vedeno)

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1 • Dagestan RH8

16. CHAMALAL

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: according to separate villages; as opposed to other peoples: Ch'amalaldu, pl. Ch'amalaldube, collective: Ch'amalali.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Chamalaly.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,438 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,438 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: On the E side of the Andiiskoe Koisu, just below the bend; auls Verkhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Nizhnii Gakvari (with sub-villages), Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik, Gadyri (with sub-villages), Gachitl′, Gigatl′ (with sub-villages), Kvankhi (Tsumada rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

CD .197 LANGUAGE: Chamalal (Ch'amalaldub mits'•) forms with Andi, Botlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Akhvakh, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: 1a. Gakvari (incl. Gakvari, Agvali, Tsumada, Tsumada-Urukh, Richaganik); 1b. Gadyri (incl. Gachitl′) and Kvankhi; 2. Gigatl′ .

CD 231 438 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (Caucasian felt cloaks, goldsmithing); agriculture.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

17. AKHVAKH

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Atluatl'i.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Akhvakhtsy.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,683 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,683 (Russian census, ling.)

CD 162 LOCATION: Between Avarskoe Koisu and Andiiskoe Koisu, just at their bend to the E (rayon Akhvakh: auls Izani, Kudiiab-Roso, Tad-Magitl', Lologonitl'; rayon Kakhib: auls Tlenob, Tsekob; rayon Andalaly: aul Ratlub; all in Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Akhvakh (Atluatl·i mits·i) forms with Andi Batlikh, Godoberi, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, and Chamaiai, the Andi subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

CD 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

CD 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

18. KHVARSHI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kedaes hikwa. RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khvarshiny, Khvarshintsy.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 1,019 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,018 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: On a S tributary of the Andiiskoe Koisu, SW of the Bagulal area (auls Khvarshi, Inkhokari, etc., Vedeno rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Khvarshi (Kedaes mits°, Inkhies mits', depending on village) forms with Dido, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

19. DIDO

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ts'ezi, pl. Ts'ezibi

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Didoi, Didoitsy, Tsezy.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Dido; (Kakhetian-Georgian:) Tsunt'a "ragamuffin", a name also used by the Avar and several peoples of the Andi group.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 3,276 (Russian census, ethn.)
3,198 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: S of the upper Andiiskoe Koisu.

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Dido (Ts'ezias mets') forms with Khvarshi, Kapucha, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the so-called Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Khaput

20. KAPUCHA

C. D. 101 **NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION:** Kapuchias suko or Bezhtl·as suko, depending on the village. **RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS:** Kapuchiny, Bezhitiny.

C. D. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 1,448 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,448 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 **LOCATION:** Upper basin of Avarskoe Koisu (rayon Tliarata, auls Bezhity, Khocharkhota, Tliadal', Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Kapucha (Bezhtl·alas mits·) forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Khunzal, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 241 326 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry (goldsmithing).

C. D. 795 **RELIGION:** Islam (Sunni).

7: Columbia U. S-4,5 1956 RH1 Caucasia RH1
Dagestan RH8

21. KHUNZAL

C.D. 101 **NAME:** SELF-DESIGNATION: ------
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Khunzaly, Gun(d)zaly, Nakhada.

C.D. 161 **NUMBER:** 1926 106 (Russian census, ethn.)
129 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 **LOCATION:** Auls Hunzib and Gharbut (with former Nahada) (rayon Tlarata, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 **LANGUAGE:** Khunzal forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapucha, and Ginukh, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 **TRADITIONAL ECONOMY:** Cattle-breeding; agriculture; crafts.

C.D. 795 **RELIGION:** Islam (Sunni).

22. GINUKH

C.D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Ginukhtsy

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 200 (estimate, Bokarev).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ginukh, rayon Tliarata, (Dagestan ASSR). Majority had moved to rayon Vedeno by 1949 (village Kidero).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Ginukh forms with Khvarshi, Dido, Kapuchi, and Khunzal, the Dido subgroup of the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

23. ARCHI

C. P. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Arshishuw, Arshishtuw.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Archintsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Lak:) Roch.

C. P. 161 NUMBER: 1926 863 (Russian census, ethn.)
859 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Aul Ruch-Archi on the Khatar river, rayon Charoda (Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 177 LANGUAGE: Archi (Arshatten ch'at) belongs to the Avaro-Ando-Dido group of the NE Caucasian languages; its exact position in this group is uncertain. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 286 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (cloth and tapestry weaving).

C 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RH1 ColumbiaRH1
DagestanRH8
Lak

24. LAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lak; Lakuchū
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Laki, Kazikumukhtsy.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Avar:) Tumaw, pl. Tumal; Lezgian: Yakholshu

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 40,380 (Russian census, ethn.)
40,336 (Russian census, ling.)
1955 well over 55,000 (estimate, Zhirkov).

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of the upper Tleuserakh, Khatar, and Kazikumukhskoe Koisu (rayons Lak and Kula, separate villages in rayons Tsudakhar, Akusha, Rutul, Kurakh, Charoda, and Dakhadaev). Since 1944 also in the valley of Yaryksu river (Novo-Lak rayon, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. • 197 LANGUAGE: Lak (lakū maz) forms with the Dargwa group of languages the Lak-Dargwa subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages, which include also Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Samurian, Khinalug, and Udi. Lak has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kumukh dialect.

C.D. 231 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; production of leather goods and pottery; metal-work (weapons); agriculture.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

7:Columbia U. S-4, 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

25. DARGWA

CD 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one (the term "Dargwa" refers originally to a type of political-administrative unit); according to villages: Ts'udq·'an, pl. Ts'udq·'ur "person from Tsudakhar", Khurq·'an, pl. Khuruq· "person from Khiurkila", etc.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Darginy, Dargintsy; language also Khiurkilinskii iazyk.

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (German:) for the language: Hürkanisch.

CD 161 NUMBER: 1897 130,209 (Russian census)
108,963 (Russian census, ethn.)
107,645 (Russian census, ling.)
The 1897 figure probably includes Kubachi and Kaitak.

CD 162 LOCATION: In the lower mountains between the rivers Kazikumukhskoe Koisu and Ullachai (rayons Sergokala, Akusha, Dakhadaev, Shuragat, Tsudakhar, most of Levashi; separate villages in rayons Karabudakhkent (Gubden, Gurbuki), Buinak (Kadar, Karamakhi, Chankurby) Gunib (Miamusi), Agul (Amukh, Chirakh), Dagestan ASSR).

CD 197 LANGUAGE: Dargwa forms with the closely related Kubachi and Kaitak the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. It has the status of literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Akusha dialect (Aq·usha midz).

7: Columbia U. S 4 5 1956 RHI Caucasia RHI
Dagestan RH8
Dargin

C.
D.
197 SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Akusha-(or , Akkhusha-)Urakha and Tsudakhar, both with many sub-dialects.

C.
D.
244 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture, home
438 industry (pottery, leather work, tapestry-weaving, weapon-and tool-making).

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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26. KAITAK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Khaidaqlan, plur. Khaidaq.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khaidaki, Kaitagi, Kaitaki.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 14,430 (Russian census, ethn.)
14,469 (Russian census, ling.)

C.P. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Ulla-Chai, between the Dargwa and the Tabasaran areas (rayon Kaitak, S part of rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Kaitak forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kubachi the so-called Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as the literary language.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; home industry.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

27. KUBACHI

C. D. 101

NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Ughbug.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kubachintsy.

C. D. 161

NUMBER: 1926 2,322 (Russian cens., ethn.)
2,470 (Russian cens., ling.)

C. D. 162

LOCATION: Aul Kubachi (rayon Dakhadaev, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197

LANGUAGE: Kubachi (Ughbughan hub) forms with the closely related Dargwa and Kaitak the Dargwa subgroup of the Lak-Dargwa group of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Dargwa being used as a literary language.

C. D. 231 326

TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; goldsmithing; incrustation work.

C. D. 795

RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

28. LEZGIANS

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Lezgi, pl. Lezgiar.

ENGLISH VARIANTS: Lezg(h)i, Lezg(h)ians.

RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Lezginy, Kiurintsy, for the language: Kiurinskii iazyk. (The name Lezginy has often been used to refer to the Dagestan mountaineers in general.)

OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Lek'i (in a wider sense referring to the Dagestan mountaineers in general); (German:) for the language: Kürinisch.

C. D. 161 NUMBER:

1897	159,213	(Russian census)
1926	134,529	(Russian census, ethn.)
	164,763	(Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basins of Gyulgeri-chai, middle and lower Samur and Shakh-Nabad rivers, i.e. the whole SE part of Dagestan and the adjoining part of N Azerbaidzhan. (Dagestan ASSR; Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Lezgian (Lezgi ch'al) forms with Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. It has the status of a literary language in the Dagestan ASSR; the written language is based on the Kiuri dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: Three basic dialects: Kiuri, Akhty, Kuba.

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Dagestan RHB

29. AGUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Aghul, Aghulshuy
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Aguly

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 7,653 (Russian census, ethn.)
7,653 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of upper Kurakh-chai and Gyulgeri-chai (Magudere), with affluents (rayons Agul and Kurakh, Dagestan ASSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Agul (Aghul ch'al, Aghularin ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two dialects: Agul proper and Koshan.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Dagestan RH8

30. RUTUL

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: no general one; the inhabitants of the aul Rutul (Mykhád) call themselves Mykháshura.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Rutuly, Rutul'tsy.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 10,495 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,356 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Area of confluence of Samur and Kara-Samur (18 villages) (Rutul rayon; vill. Khnov in Akhty rayon (Dagestan ASSR); Shin and Kainar in Nukha rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Rutul (Mykhánidy ch'äl) forms with Lezghian, Agul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Lezgian being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

31. TSAKHUR

C. D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: No general one; inhabitants of aul Tsakhur (Ts'akhur) call themselves Ts'akhighaii, pl. Ts'akhby.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tsakhury.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 19,085 (Russian census, ethn.)
10,951 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Samur basin W of its confluence with the Kara-Samur (Tsakhur rayon, Dagestan ASSR); also on the S slopes of the Caucasus in the area of Elisu (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tsakhur (Ts'akhbishda miz) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tabasaran, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Avar being used as the literary language in the Daghestan ASSR, Azeri in the Azerbaidzhan SSR.

C. D. 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; home industry (production of cloth, tapestries, felt cloaks).

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

32. TABASARAN

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tabasaran zhvi, Tabarasan zhvi, Ghumghum zhvi.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Tabasarantsy.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 31,983 (Russian census, ethn.)
29,726 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Basin of Upper Rubas-chai and Upper Chirakh-chai (rayons Tabasaran and Khiv, Dagestan ASSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Tabasaran (Tabasaran ch'al) forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Budukh, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. It has the status of a literary language in the Daghestan ASSR; the written language is based on the southern dialect.

SUBDIVISIONS: The language has two main dialects: North (Khanag) and South Tabasaran.

C.D. 241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home industry (weapon- and tool-making, silversmith's and coppersmith's work, tapestry-weaving).

C.D. 495 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

33. BUDUKH

C.
D.
101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Budukhi, Budugi

C.
D.
161 NUMBER: 1926 1 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,995 (Russian census, ling.)

C.
D.
162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the upper basin of the Kara-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerb. SSR).

C.
D.
197 LANGUAGE: Budukh forms, with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Dzhek, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian language-group. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C.
D.
231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; horticulture.

C.
D.
795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

34. DZHEK

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: According to villages; Dzheki, Kryzy, Khaputtsy, (Gaputlintsy, Khaputlintsy).

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 Dzhek 590 Kryz 5 Khaput 12 (Russian census, ethn.)
All three groups together: 4,348 (Russ. census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Mt. Shakhdag area, in the basin of the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (Konakhkend rayon, Azerbaidzhan SSR). Also daughter-settlements near the Caspian coast in the Khachmas area (Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C.D. •197 LANGUAGE: The Dzhek language forms with Lezgian, Agul, Rutul, Tsakhur, Tabasaran, and Budukh, the Samurian subdivision of the NE Caucasian languages. The language is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

SUBDIVISIONS: According to villages: Dzhek, Kryz, Khaput.

C.D. 231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; horticulture.

C.D. 745 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

35. KHINALUG

C. D. 107 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: -----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Khinalugi.

C. D. 161 NUMBER: 1926 105 (Russian census, ethn.)
1,540 (Russian census, ling.)

C. D. 162 LOCATION: Shakhdag area, aul Khinalug (Khynalyk) on the upper right arm of the Kudial-chai (rayon Konakhkend, Azerbaidzhan SSR).

C. D. 797 LANGUAGE: Khinalug (Kättidmits) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Udi language. Khinalug is not written, Azeri being used as the literary language.

C. D. 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding.

C. D. 795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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36. UDI

C.D. 101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Udi, Uti.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Udiny.

C.D. 161 NUMBER: 1897 7,100 (Russian census)
1926 2,455 (Russian census, ethn.)
2,762 (Russian census, ling.)

C.D. 162 LOCATION: Villages Vartashen and Nidzh (rayons Vartashen and Kutkashen, Azerbaidzhan SSR), Oktomberi (Georgian SSR).

C.D. 197 LANGUAGE: Udi (Udi muz) is a member of the NE Caucasian language-group, to which there belong further the Veinakh, Avaro-Ando-Dido, Lak-Dargwa, and Samurian groups, and the Khinalug language. Though Udi was written before the revolution, it does not have the status of literary language, this function being fulfilled by Azeri.

C.D. 241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding.

C.D. 795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, Armenian-Gregorian.

197 LANGUAGE: Armenian (Hai lezu) constitutes a separate branch of the Indoeuropean language family. The language has an old literary tradition going back to the 5th century A. D., and a script of its own. This literary language is based on the dialect of Ararat; there is now also a literary tradition for the Western dialect-group.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Armenian dialects are subdivided into an Eastern (Ararat, Karabakh, etc.) and a Western (Erzurum, Hemshin, Istanbul, etc.) group, to which Adjarian adds a third branch including the dialects of Maragha, Khoy, and Artvin.

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231
438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; viniculture; in the mountains: cattle-breeding; commerce and art crafts.

AS RELIGION: Armenian-Gregorian; there are a Roman Catholic (Uniate) and a Protestant minority. The Khemshin (Hemshin, Hemshili) on the Black Sea coast near the Turkish border (629 in 1926, Russian census) are Muslim.

38. OSSETES

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION; no general one, according to tribes: Ir (collective), Iron (sing.), Irättä (pl.); Dygur, Digor (coll.), Dyguron, Digoron (sing.); Tuallag (sing.), Tuallägtä (pl.).
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Ossetes; for the language: Ossetian, Ossetic.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Osety, Osetiny.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Osi; (German:) Ossen, Osseten.

161 NUMBER: 1897 171,716 (Russian census)
1926 272,272 (Russian census, ethn.)
267,019 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 354,500 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: In the central Caucasus on both sides of the main chain, in the N along the upper Terek and its affluents on the left (Gizel'don, Ardon, Urukh) (North-Ossetian ASSR), in the S in the immediately adjoining part of the Georgian SSR (South-Ossetian AO), smaller groups also farther to the S, extending beyond the Kura river.

197 LANGUAGE: Ossetian (Iron ävzag) is a member of the Eastern (in older terminology, Northern) subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch belong also Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Tat, Talysh, and Kurdish. Ossetian has the

197 status of a literary language; the written language is based on the E dialect. In the North-Ossetian ASSR the Cyrillic, in the South-Ossetian AO the Georgian alphabet is used.

SUBDIVISIONS: The Ossetian dialects, which follow tribal divisions, are subdivided into a Western (Digor) and an Eastern branch (Tagaur, Kurtat, and Allagir). The dialect of the S Ossetes (Tual) is a sub-dialect of Tagaur.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Eastern Orthodox, except the Digor, who are Muslim (Sunni).

39. TALYSH

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tolysh.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Talysh, Talish.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Talyshi, Talyshintsy.

161 NUMBER: 1897 35,291 (Russian census)
1926 77,323 (Russian census, ethn.)
80,629 (Russian census, ling.)
1931 89,398 (Azerb. upravl. nar.-khoz. ucheta.)
In Iran: 50,000 (estimate, B. V. Miller)

162 LOCATION: Along Caspian coast S of the River Viliazh-chai (rayons Lenkoran', Zuvand, Astara, and part of Massala, Azerbaidzhan SSR), extending into Persian territory up to Kepri-chal.

197 LANGUAGE: Talysh (Tolysha zyvon), like Tat, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family, to which branch also belong Persian, and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish. The Talysh in the USSR are all bilingual and speak also Azeri, which is used as the literary language.

241 231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; stock-raising; home industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii).

40. TAT

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Tat.
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Tat; for the Jewish Tat: Mountain Jews, Judeo-Tats.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Taty; for the Jewish Tat: Gorskie evrei.
OTHER DESIGNATIONS: (Turkish, for the Jewish Tat:) Dagh Chufuti; (German, for the Jewish Tat:) Bergjuden.

161 NUMBER: 1897 95,056 (Russian census)
1926 28,705 (Muslim Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
21,471 (Jewish Tat)(Russian census, ethn.)
86,088 (Russian census, ling.)

162 LOCATION: On both slopes of the Eastern extension of the main Caucasian chain and on the Apsheron peninsula, in the coastal zone of the Caspian Sea between Apsheron and Kuba, SE of Kuba and NW of Shemakha (Azerbaidzhan SSR; Dagestan ASSR). The Jewish Tat are concentrated in the Area of Kuba, Derbent and Buinaksk; other settlements in the Groznyi and Nal'chik area and on the Kuban'.

197 LANGUAGE: Tat(zuhun Tātī), like Talysh, is a member of the NW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language-family to which branch also

197 belong Persian and, in the Caucasus, Ossetian and Kurdish.

SUBDIVISIONS: Two main dialects, that of the Muslim and that of the Jewish Tat, the former divided into a number of sub-dialects.

241 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; horticulture; home crafts (tapestry-weaving, metal-work).

795 RELIGION: Part Muslim (Sunni), part Jewish.

197 LANGUAGE: Kurdish (Kurmandzhi) is a member of the SW subdivision of the Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family, to which branch belong also Persian and in the Caucasus Ossetian, Tat, and Talysh.

SUBDIVISIONS: There are two main groups of dialects, a northern (Kurmandzhi) and a southern (Kurdi).

233 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Partly nomadic pastoralism, partly agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni, with a Shii minority); Yezidi (concentrated near Leninakan and near Echmiadzin).

162 LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus along the Caspian Sea (northward as far as Derbent), northwestern Persia, southern Kurdistan (Iraq).

Political-Administrative: USSR: Azerbaidzhan SSR, Georgian SSR, Dagestan ASSR. Persia: Rizaiyeh, Azerbaijan, Khamseh, Kazvin, Ardelan provinces. Iraq: Erbil, Kirkuk, Sülaimaniya provinces.

197 LANGUAGE: Azeri Turkic; belongs to the Western Oghuz Turkic group and differs very little from Turkish and the Kashkay-Hamse languages; literary language since the 14th century; lingua franca in Transcaucasia, Dagestan ASSR, and northern Persia.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Settled Azeris; Nomadic Azeris (Iliyat). Dialectal: Northern (USSR); Southern (Persia).

241 231 438 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; commerce; industry.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni).

162 (Location, continued)
Political-Administrative: Northern Caucasus: Stavropol' Krai (northern rayons), Rostov Oblast (southeastern rayons); Central Asia: Turkmen SSR, Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Afghanistan, Persia.

197 LANGUAGE: Turkoman; constitutes Eastern Oghuz Turkic; most nearly related Turkic language group: Western Oghuz Turkic (Turkish, Azeri, Kashkay-Hamse); several dialects agreeing with tribal subdivisions; literary language based on the dialect of Yomuts; literary language since the 18th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Tribal: Trukhmen (Northern Caucasus); Teke, Yomut, Ersari, Sarik (Turkmen SSR); Chaudur (Kara-Kalpak ASSR); Salir (Afghanistan); Göklen (Persia)

231
241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

44. KARAPAPAK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: ----
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karapapakhi
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karapapaklar

161 NUMBER: USSR
1926 6,316 (Russian cens., ethn.)
6,311 (Russian cens., ling.)

Persia
mid-twenties: 15,000 (estimate, Mirza Bala)

162 Distribution:
USSR ca. 30 per cent
Persia ca. 70 per cent

LOCATION: Geographical: Transcaucasia: the area between the Kura and Arpachai rivers. Persia: the area around Sulduz on Lake Urmia.
Political-Administrative: USSR: Akhalkalaki Uezd of the Georgian SSR, Leninakan Uezd of the Armenian SSR. Persia: Province of Azerbaijan.

197 LANGUAGE: Karapapak; belongs with Kipchak Turkic substrata to the Western Oghuz Turkic group, and differs very little from Azeri Turkic, Turkish, and Kashkay-Hamse (in the Georgian SSR it is often confused with Azeri Turkic (Azeri of Borchalino and Azeri of Akhalkalaki), whereas in Turkey it has been absorbed into Turkish and is no longer spoken)

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197 SUBDIVISIONS: Geographical: Karapapak of Akhalkalaki and Leninakan (USSR); Karapapak of Sulduz (Persia).

231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Shii, Sunni)

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Kumik

45. KUMUK

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Kumuklar
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Kumyk
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Kumyki
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Kumuklar

161 NUMBER: 1926 94,549 (Russian cens. ethn.)
94,909 (Russian cens. ling.)

162 LOCATION: Geographical: The northeastern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the Aksai, Sulak, Shura, and Gubden rivers, and along the Caspian coast from Adzhi-Su to Derbent.

Political-Administrative: Dagestan ASSR (Makhachkala, Buynaksk, Izberbash, and Derbent okrugs), Groznyi Oblast (southern parts of the former Kizliar Okrug).

• 197 LANGUAGE: Kumuk; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic group, together with Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.); literary language since the 19th century; lingua franca in Dagestan ASSR northward from Derbent.

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226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; fishing.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

162 between the upper Kuban' and Urup rivers. Crimean SSR (before 1945): Northern Crimea, Perekop. Bulgaria: Dobruja, Deli Orman area.

Political-Administrative: USSR: Groznyi Oblast (former Kizliar and Achikulak okrugs), Astrakhan Oblast (rayons along the Kuma and Volga rivers), Cherkes AO (Abazino-Nogai rayon), Crimean ASSR (before 1945). Bulgaria: former Shumen district.

197 LANGUAGE: Noghay; belongs to the Kipchak-Turkic language group, together with North Crimean Turkic, Karachay, Balkar, Kumuk, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc., literary language (since the Soviet period) based on the White Noghay, Black Noghay, and Central Noghay dialects; the other Noghay groups have given up the Noghay language.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialectal: Black Noghay, Central Noghay (Groznyi Oblast, southern rayons of the Astrakhan Oblast); the Noghays of Crimea and those of Dobruja (Bulgaria) have given up their language in favor of South Crimean Turkic, whereas the Noghays around Astrakhan today speak Kazan Turkic.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture (Bulgaria).

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

47. KARACHAY

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Karachayla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Karachaitsy,
TURKISH DESIGNATION: Karaçaylar

161 NUMBER: 1897 27,233 (Russian census)
1926 55,123 (Russian census, ethn.)
55,349 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 75,737 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943. Present location unknown.

LOCATION: Geographical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the headwaters of the Kuban', Teberda, Zelenchuk, Laba, and Podkumok rivers.

Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Karachai AO.

• 197 LANGUAGE: Karachay; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group (which includes Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak, etc.), and is almost identical with Balkar; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding; agriculture; handicrafts.

795 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

48. BALKAR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Malkarla
RUSSIAN DESIGNATION: Balkary
TURKISH DESIGNATIONS: Malkarlar, Balkarlar.

161 NUMBER: 1897 34,232 (Russian census)
1926 33,307 (Russian census, ethn.)
33,276 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 42,666 (Russian census)

162 Distribution: Deported from the Caucasus in 1943, present location unknown.

LOCATION: Georgraphical: Before 1943, on the northern slopes of the Greater Caucasus along the upper course of the Baksan, Chegem, and Cherek rivers.
Political-Administrative: Before 1943: Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR (Balkar rayon).

• 197 LANGUAGE: Balkar; belongs to the Kipchak Turkic language group, along with Crimean Turkic, Kumuk, Noghay, Kazan Turkic, Kazak etc.) and is almost identical with Karachay; as a literary language, a common Karachay-Balkar language was used, which was created in the Soviet period.

231 241 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Cattle-breeding and some agriculture.

195 RELIGION: Islam (Sunni).

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Kalmyk

162 Ala-shan area, Ch'ing Hai province, China).

197 LANGUAGE: Kalmyk (Oirot) constitutes the W group of the Mongolian family of Altaic. It has a literary tradition going back to the 16th century.

SUBDIVISIONS: Dialects: Dörwöt, Torghūt (Torgout), and Buzāwa. Tribes: Torghūt, [619] Khoshūt, Dörwöt (Dürböt, Dürbät, divided by the Russian Administration into the Great and Little Dörwöt), Khöit (Khōt), Tsoros, Dzūn-ghar ("left-wing army", "eastern") The Torghūt have always been considered the leading tribe.

23? 231 226 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Nomadic pastoralism; sedentary stock-raising; (on the Volga:) fishing.

795 RELIGION: Lamaist Buddhism; (Sart-Kalmyk:) Islam (Sunni).

50. AISOR

101 NAME: SELF-DESIGNATION: Surai
ENGLISH VARIANTS: Chald(a)eans, Syrochald(a)eans, Assyrians.
RUSSIAN DESIGNATIONS: Aisory, Assiriitsy, Assuriitsy.
OTHER DISIGNATIONS: (Georgian:) Kaldeveli.

161 NUMBER: 1897 5,353 (Russian census)
1926 9,808 (Russian census, ethn.)
15,476 (Russian census, ling.)
1939 20,200 (Russian census)

162 LOCATION: Concentrated near Erevan', also scattered in other regions of Transcaucasia. Outside USSR: Iraq (esp. in Tur Abdin) and NW Iran.

197 LANGUAGE: Aisor is a New-Syrian dialect, belonging to the Aramaic subdivision of the Semitic language-family. Aisor has the status of a literary language in the USSR.

241
231 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY: Agriculture; cattle-breeding; crafts.

795 RELIGION: Nestorian and Jacobite Christian.

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I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

A General Introduction to the Study of Caucasian Culture

§ 1. PEOPLES AND TRIBES OF CAUCASIA

The Caucasus has been called an ethnographic mosaic, and rightly so, for, of the 170 different nations, peoples and tribes of the U.S.S.R. at least a third live in the Caucasus.[1] Some decades ago it was still a problem to classify the inhabitants of this relatively small area—a problem which, thanks to the progress made in Caucasian linguistics, has practically disappeared. We may divide them into two main groups, the Caucasians and the non-Caucasians. By "Caucasians" we understand all tribes which speak a language belonging to no linguistic group outside the Caucasus, whereas the "non-Caucasians" are all the other peoples who migrated to the Caucasus in more recent times and speak languages belonging to linguistic groups outside this territory, such as the Indo-Europeans, Turco-Tartars, and Semites. The true Caucasians are further divided into three branches, the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and Southern Caucasians,[2] a classification based again on linguistic affinity. As mentioned in the Preface, our interest centres around the Northwestern and Northeastern Caucasians.[3]

The large ethnographic map (Map I), the note regarding the absolute and relative population (*infra*, p. 5), and the following outline with its detailed classification of the peoples and tribes inhabiting the Caucasus and their various names will provide sufficient orientation for the reader and may prove useful for future reference.

I. Caucasians

A. The Northwestern Caucasians

1. The *Abkhaz* (called Absoi, Abaski, Abasgi, etc. by the Greek writers of the second century; Abaskhoi by the Byzantine writers; Abkhasi by

[1] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 3.

[2] The languages of the Caucasus and their relationship to one another and to other languages outside the Caucasus are treated in a special section below. See pp. 12–16.

[3] In the present study we do not include such tribes that no longer live in the Caucasus, such as the Ubykhs.

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§ 2. PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

The so-called "Caucasoid Race" in reference to the "Europeans" is a complete misnomer. A *common* European race has never existed; nor have the "Europeans" come from the Caucasus or immediate vicinity, so that the use of the term is quite unjustifiable.

We are interested, however, not in these pseudo-Caucasians but in the true Caucasians, the natives of Caucasia who speak languages belonging to no linguistic group outside of the Caucasus. Do *they* (or at least some of them) form a distinct race?

Negatively stated, the Caucasians are not, as was formerly supposed, survivors of numberless different stocks and races, who, one after the other, found refuge in the Caucasus Mountains. The linguistic and cultural complexity of Caucasia has indeed misled the earlier anthropologists to such untenable conjectures, but today we know that this assumption is false, and after having made sufficient reservations, we may even speak of a "Caucasian Race". But still much research is necessary before a final word can be said regarding the racial affinity and components of the individual tribes of the Caucasus.

According to Djavachišvili, the typical representatives of the "Caucasian Race" are the Georgians, Lesghians, Cherkess and Armenians. He assigns the following marks as being characteristic of the Caucasian Race: 47% to 67% have dark hair; 53% to 81% dark eyes; 58% to 72% brunette type; head-length moderate, 181 mm. to 187 mm.; head-breadth large, 155 mm. to 159 mm.; 80% to 96% are definitely roundheaded with an 83.44 to 86.55 index; the height of the skull varies from 128 mm. to 133 mm., and in relation to its width 82.58 to 84.89, in relation to its length 69.66 to 73.05. The face is of moderate height, breadth 143 mm. to 145 mm., length 178 mm. to 184 mm. with an index of 79.44 to 81.73 (36% to 54% being broad faced and 46% to 62% moderately so). The distance between inner eye-corners varies from 30 mm. to 32 mm. Differences are especially noticeable in stature, quantity of hair, and nasal index, depending on the ethnic group to which the subject belongs. Djavachišvili, in his excellent compilation of anthropometric data of the Caucasians, divides the race into five main groups and 14 types. The mean stature of the Georgian and Cherkess groups is 165 cm., except for the Kabardians, who are 2 cm. taller. The mean stature of the Lesghian group varies from 164 cm. to 168 cm., varying according to tribe. (The mean stature of the Chechens is 168 cm.[4]) The Georgian group shows the scantiest hair; contrariwise the Armenian group has a very thick growth of hair. The nasal index varies too: Georgian group 58.0; Armenian group 62.5; Cherkess group 64.05; Lesghian group 65.2. The nasal length of the Lesghians is 54; of the Cherkess 57; of the Georgian 60; of the Armenian group 61. The nose is leptorrhine according to the following percentage: 100% of the Gurians and Imeréti; 97% of the

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[4] Carleton S. Coon, *The Races of Europe* (1945), p. 633.

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141 174 brachycephalic remains testify. In other words, from these finds it is evident that crossing was not uncommon already during the Bronze Age.[12] Very important racially was the contact with the Cimmerians and Scythian-Sarmatian populations, who for centuries lived in the Caucasus, till in the fourth century B. C. they were driven southward to Subartu.[13] Some present-day Ossetine-speaking tribes are not of Indo-European origin while practically all have a strong non-Indo-European strain.[14]

141 144 According to C. S. Coon, "The Caucasic-speaking peoples as a whole, from an anthropometric standpoint, represent a blend between a local Alpine racial nucleus and several kinds of Mediterraneans. The Georgians and the Lesghians are the most Alpine, the Cherkesses the least so. The facial dimensions preclude, in most groups, the presence of a long-faced Irano-Afgan element in any quantity; except among the Cherkesses, the head size, with mean lengths in the low 180's, limits the possible Mediterranean elements to the smaller-headed varieties. These are apparently both Danubian and Cappodocian; there is too much true facial Dinaricism for the Danubian to be the only factor, and too much blondism and nasal concavity for the Cappadocian."[15]

§ 3. LINGUISTICS

● 197 Perhaps nowhere in the world will one find such an intricate mosaic of languages as in the Caucasus. Today there are about 40 different Caucasian languages, and formerly the number must have been much greater. Strabo (VI. 1—16) speaks of seventy languages along the coast of the Black Sea and 26 in Albania, that is, in Azerbaijan- and Armenian-speaking countries of today. Pliny speaks of 300 different languages at Dioscurias which necessitated 80 interpreters. Abulfeda calls the Caucasus "The Mountain of Tongues" and Thomas Artsruni, the Armenian historian of the tenth century, writes that "72 different nations inhabit the Caucasus."

These languages fall into three sharply distinct groups: the Northwestern, the Northeastern, and the Southern. (See pp. 1—4.)

1. Phonetics

194 The vowel system of all three groups, but especially of the Northwestern group, is very poorly developed. In Abkhazian there are only two basic vowels *a* and *ə*.[16] The preponderance of consonants over vowels is less marked in the Northeastern languages: the Chechen, Avaro-Andi, and Lak languages have the five *a, e, i, o, u*, vowels, and some languages, for example Kurin and Aghulian, have the equivalent of something between the German umlauts *ä, ö, ü*, and *a, o, u*.[17] The vowel system of the Southern group is the richest of the three.

[12] R. Bleichsteiner, "Kaukasische Völker," *Ebert's Reallexikon*, VI, p. 250.
[13] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 4.
[14] A. Baschmakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 32. See his analysis of the racial problem, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—38.
[15] C. S. Coon, *op. cit.*, pp. 631 f.
[16] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), p. 65. Dirr assigns four basic vowels to Abkhazian. *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. 29.

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193 sentences may be incorporated into the verbal form. Adverbial relations, temporal designations, direction, mood, and many other determinations are expressed by the verb form itself. To complicate matters, sometimes the original verb itself consists of only one consonant, which is lost in the numerous additions just mentioned and many others besides—infixes and suffixes that denote place, negation, question, relationship; even substantives may be attached to the verb. The Northeastern languages distinguish between momentative, durative, iterative, and inchoative forms.[22] Verbal forms become exceedingly complicated in languages that not only distinguish between different classes of beings but also have the use of person, as is the case in the Dargwa language.

5. Declension

In the Northwestern languages the declension is extremely simple. (A declension is almost superfluous, for, as we have mentioned above, the verb is capable of incorporating all possible relationships.) Similarly, the declensions of the South Caucasian languages are simple. The Northeastern languages, however, possess a complicated declension. The instrumental is the most important case, the genitive and dative being derived from the instrumental. The agent is placed in the instrumental while the aim of the action is in the nominative.[23] The locative is also an important case: by means of suffixes a large number of adverbial relations can be expressed, e. g., *upward, toward, upon, against, over, into, etc*

6. Linguistic Relationships

197 Our first question is: Do the three Caucasian groups of languages constitute 14 a distinct linguistic family, as do, for example, the Indo-European languages? Despite the similarities between the groups and despite the fact that Abkhazian seems to form a bridge between the Southern as well as the Northeastern languages,[24] sufficient evidence has not yet been brought forth to justify anyone in speaking of a common "Caucasian Family." As far as our present knowledge of the Caucasic languages goes, it is much more probable that there are three (or perhaps two, Northern and Southern) distinct families.

The affinity of the languages of Caucasia with other languages has been a favourite question among the Caucasologists, formerly much more than in

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[22] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die kaukasische Sprachgruppe," *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), pp. 66, 68. G. Deeters, *Das khartvelische Verbum*, Leipzig, 1930.

[23] The ergative is used in the other groups too. Cf. C. Tagliavini, "Osservazioni sull'ergativo georgiano," *Mélanges de linguistique et de philologie offerts à Jacq. Van Ginneken, à l'occasion du soixantième anniversaire de sa naissance*, pp. 187—193.

[24] R. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, p. 72. Today there is absolutely no doubt about Professor Bleichsteiner's opposition to a single "Caucasian Family" of languages: "Die drei eigentlichen kaukasischen Sprachgruppen sind weder untereinander noch mit anderen Sprachfamilien Eurasiens verwandt." ("Die Völker des Kaukasus," *Asien-Berichte*, V (1944), No. 22, p. 15.)

recent times. Even the Marr School, once so eager to establish a "Japhetic" family not only within Caucasia but from the Pyrenees (the Basques) to Hindu Kush (Burushaski), including practically all languages of the ancient Near East, is more interested today in "stages" of these languages than in their affinity. Prof. Marr (d. 1934), the founder of the School, based his classification of the "Japhetic" languages on certain regular recurrences: a sibilant in one group of languages corresponded to a "spirant" in another and to sonants in a third. The position of certain languages within the scheme was, naturally, only tentative, while the position of others was considered more or less final. The following table shows Professor Marr's classification of the "Japhetic Family."

Prof. Marr's Japhetic Family

- (1) Sibilant Branch
  - "s" Group — Georgian
  - "š" Group
    - Mingrelian
    - Lazian
- (2) Spirant Branch
  - Eastern Group
    - Southeastern languages
      - Ando-Didoian
      - Avarian
      - Lak
      - Kubachi
      - Hyrkanian
      - Archi
      - Kurin
        - Lesghian
        - Tsakhur
        - Aghulian
        - Tabassaranian
      - Udin
    - Northeastern languages
      - Chechenian
      - Ingushian
      - Tsova-Tushian
  - Northwestern Group
    - Adighé
      - Kabardian
      - Cherkess
    - Ubykhian
- (3) Sonant Branch
- (4) Mixed Languages
  - Spirant + "s" Group
    - Haykian
    - Abkhazian
    - Basque
    - Burushaski
  - Spirant + "š"
    - Hayish
    - Svanian
    - Etruscan
  - Spirant + Sonant Group
    - Elamitic
      - North Elamitic
      - South Elamitic (Hallapirti)
    - Sumerian
    - Vannish (Urartu-Biaina)

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197 114 Professor Marr and other linguists who have tried to establish a relationship between the Caucasian languages and the dead languages of Near East were actually attempting the impossible: no one knew (or knows today) what "Proto-Caucasian" might be, and this unknown language was being related to other unknown or little-known languages like Etruscan, Sumerian, Mitani, Elamitic, Lydian, Lycian, Cilician, Carian and Cappodocian.[25] A relationship between Basque and Abkhazian and South Caucasian is quite possible but not yet certain.[26] Similarly, the Burushaski language of Hindu Kush has doubtless many striking features in common with the languages of Daghestan,[27] but to say that these languages originated from a common parent-language is to assume more than has been proved.

Nevertheless these attempts were not totally fruitless. The intense research work carried out especially by the Marr School has brought to light not a few common and mutual influences. Even though we must reject as unfounded the claim of Bork, Winkler, Hüsing, and others that Elamitic is *related* to Caucasian, we cannot deny the strong mutual influence between ancient Georgian and Elamitic. The same holds in regard to Mitani and the language of Urartu: *affinity* to Georgian may be denied, but the *influences* common to ancient Georgian, Mitani and Urartu may not.

§ 4. PREHISTORY

1. Lower and Middle Paleolithic

There can no longer be any doubt about North and South Caucasus being inhabited since early Paleolithic times, as the prehistoric sites of Yshtakh, Kyurdere, Aragas, Ochemchiri and Ilskaya testify. The famous Mt. Yashtukh site was an accidental discovery made by Zamjatnin in 1934, about three miles north of the city of Sukhum.[28] These Lower Paleolithic remains include accidently formed side-scrapers, points from large flakes, and some fist hatchets (11.1 cm. long and 7 cm. wide). The Yashtukh artifacts are characterized by

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[25] Cf. M. Tseretheli, "Sumerian and Georgian," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1913), pp. 783—821. M. Tseretheli, "Rassen- und Kulturprobleme des Kaukasus," Heft 1 der Veröffentlichungen der deutsch-georgischen Gesellschaft.
F. Bork, "Die Mittanisprache," MVAG XIV (1909), pp. 1—126.
A. Dirr, *Einführung in das Studium der kaukasischen Sprachen*, p. iv.
H. Winkler, *Die Sprache der zweiten Kolonne der dreisprachigen Inschriften und das Altaische*, Breslau, 1896.
G. Hüsing, "Die Sprachen Elams," *86. Jahresbericht der Schles. Gesellschaft für Vaterländische Kultur*, Breslau, 1908.
G. Hüsing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, Part I, Leipzig, 1916.
G. Hüsing, "Der Zagros und seine Völker," *Der Alte Orient*, VIII (1908), No. 3—4, E. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, London, 1930.

[26] G. Dumézil, "Langues caucasiennes et basque," *Festschrift für Herman Hirt*, Heidelberg, 1936, Vol. II.
R. Bleichsteiner, "Die Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen des Baskischen," WZKM, 1931.
K. Bouda, *Baskisch-Kaukasische Etymologien*, Heidelberg, 1949.

[27] R. Bleichsteiner, "Die werschikisch-burischkische Sprache," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik*, I (1930). Cf. also D. L. Lorimer, *The Burushaski Language*, Oslo, 1935.

[28] S. N. Zamjatnin, "Novyie dannye po paleolitu Zakavkaz'ja," SE, 1935, No. 2.

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II. MARRIAGE

Chapter II

Prohibited Mating

We shall begin our study of the North Caucasian marriage with a negative, but a very important, question: Which persons may *not* be mates? The next chapter will tell us which persons are not only not excluded from mating, but are regarded as *preferred*, or even *obligatory*, mates.

§ 1. THE RULE OF MONOGAMY

1. Extent and Frequency of Polygamy in the Caucasus

As a general rule the NORTHWESTERN CAUCASIANS content themselves with one wife,[1] although both the *Abkhaz* and the *Cherkess* consider polygyny just as lawful as monogyny. After the Soviet government had prohibited plural marriages, polygyny indeed became extremely rare (today it is found only by way of exception here and there among old "incorrigible" Kabardians), but the people still maintain that as long as a man can afford two wives and can feed and clothe them properly, he is just as much in the right as the monogamist,[2] the Soviet penal law notwithstanding.

According to a report of John de Lucca, a Dominican missionary, *(Relations des Tartares, Percopites et Nogaies, des Circassiens, Mingréliens et Géorgiens)* the seventeenth century Circassians recognized polygyny as a lawful institution; however, they seldom made use of the right.[3] In a report from 1502 *(Della Vita dei Zychi, altrimenti chiamati Circassi)*, Interiano mentions that the natives heartily approved of plurality of wives.[4] Our sources, therefore, tell us that polygyny has been in practice in Northwest Caucasia for more than 450 years, always, indeed, more as an exception than as a rule.

The practice certainly does not owe its existence to Mohammedan missionaries. The Cherkess conversion was very superficial till the Murid wars, when a common hatred against the Russians united them under the Moslem

[1] N. Dubrovin, *Istorija vojny i vladyčestva russkich na Kavkaze*, Tome I, Bk. I, p. 138. A. Byhan, *La civilisation caucasienne*, (Paris, 1936), p. 154.

[2] A. Ladyženskij, "Das Familiengewohnheitsrecht der Tscherkessen," *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XLV (1930), pp. 191, 195.

[3] Ladyženskij, *op. cit.*, *p. 184.*

[4] R. Erckert, "*Der Kaukasus und seine Völker*," p. 67.